DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 303 563 UD 026 660

AUTHOR McAdoo, Harriette Pipes
TITLE Changes in the Formation and Structure of Black Families: The Impact on Black Women. Working Paper No. 182.
INSTITUTION Wellesley Coll., Mass. Center for Research on Women.
SPONS AGENCY Ford Foundation, New York, N.Y.; Women's Bureau (DOL), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE Mar 88
NOTE 34p.; This paper was originally presented at the Economic Condition of Black Women Conference (Wellesley, Massachusetts, March 1988).
AVAILABLE FROM Center for Research on Women, Wellesley College, Wellesley, MA 02181.
PUB TYPE Speeches/Conference Papers (150) -- Reports - Research/Technical (143)

EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS Black Employment; *Black Family; *Black Mothers; Black Population Trends; *Black Stereotypes; Demography; *Family Characteristics; Family Financial Resources; Family Relationship; *Family Structure; *Females; One Parent Family; *Parent Role; Racial Differences; Social Science Research
IDENTIFIERS Feminization of Poverty

ABSTRACT

This paper attempts to dispel stereotypes about black family structures through an examination of the impact of demographic trends on black women. Topics covered include the following: (1) the structure of black families from the arrival of black slaves in North America through the 1950's; (2) the impact that the historical structure and prevailing myths have had on the roles of black women; (3) the modifications in the family structure that have occurred over the last three decades; and (4) the implications of these changes on the lives of black women. Trends examined include the following: (1) sex ratio of black males to black females; (2) marital status; (3) changes in marital status; (4) disrupted marriages; (5) black marriage modifications; (6) living arrangements of black children; (7) median income and poverty; (8) children born to unwed mothers; (9) economic status of black males; (10) single parent status; and (11) stress in women. Statistical data are included on three tables and four graphs. A list of 27 references is also included. (FMW)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE ONLY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Harriette P. McAdoo
Wellesley College/Center for Research on Women

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

WELLESLEY COLLEGE

Center for Research on Women

CHANGES IN THE FORMATION AND STRUCTURE OF BLACK FAMILIES: THE IMPACT ON BLACK WOMEN

Harriette Pipes McAdoo

The family structures of Black families has been an issue that has permeated the writings of authors for the past half century. Myths, stereotypes, and "popular wisdom" have become intertwined in such a manner that it has become difficult to know what is true and what is fiction. This paper attempts to present the empirical data, and the implications of the data, in a way that can move us forward in the discussion of these issues. The focus is upon the impact that demographic trends have had on Black women. For it is in the woman that the real issues of children, husbands, families, and their functioning are finally and formally faced.

The papers covers the following areas:

1. the historic structure of Black families from the beginning of their occurrence on this continent through the 1950s;
2. The impact that the historical structure and the prevailing myths have had on the roles of Black women;
3. The family structure modifications that began to occur in the 1960s through the 1980s; and

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

4. The implications of these data and changes for the lives of Black women.

African-American Families: A Historical Overview

The family has remained one of the strongest elements within Black life. The family has managed to hold us together despite all of the efforts that have worked against the integrity of the family. From the earliest time that Blacks were on this continent until the present, the majority of families were composed of parents living with their children.

Blacks have been present in small numbers since the first white man came and began the destructive process against the Indians, as the United States was brought into the "civilized world". Large numbers of Blacks did arrive near the beginning of this period as indentured servants, but the largest influx of Africans occurred when they were brought over against their wills, under the institution of enslavement. Early family members were forcefully enslaved from diverse African cultural and racial groups. These groups had different languages, religions, and cultures. In fact, they differed from one another much as the present immigrants from El Salvador, Russia, or England do today.

The different groups were deliberately mixed up in an attempt to divert them. Yet they were able to protect their West African heritages in many ways, by forming pidgin languages and by carrying on customs and family traditions. The cultural memories could not be taken away and were retained and can be noted even today (Gutman, 1976).

Today there has been such a mixture of African, European, Caribbean, and Southern plantation culture that it is often impossible to know the exact location of many traditions (DuBois, 1903; Herskovitz, 1930; Frazier, 1939; Pipes, 1951). However, many direct vestiges have been uncovered as history is being rewritten without the cultural blinders of an earlier time (Franklin, 1988). Noted historians have documented the continuation of many traditions so commonly accepted that these family customs have become part of American culture.

Because was illegal for those who were enslaved to marry, families were composed of individuals who had formed monogamous unions of an enduring nature. Immediately after the Emancipation, Census and Freeman's Bureau data indicate that 75% of families were legally married (Gutman, 1976). This has been seen as evidence that stable marriages did exist during slavery, in spite of the efforts of their enslavers. In fact it was within the quiet and intimacy of the family that the enslaved could provide the mutual support that was so necessary to withstand the abuses and cruelties of slavery (Franklin, 1988).

After Emancipation, long marriages remained the rule (Gutman, 1976). Families were composed of husband- or father-present homes. Some families were two-parent, some one-parent. Many were extended, composed of grandparents and their grandchildren, or formed by other relatives and young children.

Even then the percentage of women over 40 years of age who were parenting alone was increasing. However, these families were composed of women and their children and a husband who had died or had gone away to work and who was sending money back to support the family. They sometimes lived alone, or incorporated extended kin into the family, or non-kin as boarders. The incorporation of boarders was a common phenomena that was known to all types of families, both one- and two-parent.

Young unmarried mothers, on the other hand, lived with their parents or other adults and were relieved from the burden of heading a household by themselves. This was a pattern that was similar to West African families, where no single woman would be able to exist outside of a husband-as-head household. The rules that protected widows and single mothers were specific and the woman was incorporated into another's household (Sudarkasa, 1988).

Impact of the Historical Structure

As a result of these intertwining patterns, very diverse life styles developed over time. Throughout history, from the period of enslavement, through the migrations up north, and until the present, diverse family forms have existed among American Blacks.

As attention has been placed upon the structure, and not the functionality, of families, other issues have been ignored: the ceiling of occupational opportunities, the

failure of educational systems, segregation within housing systems, and the influence that Eurocentism has played in the discussions.

The debates have ranged far and wide as various discussions have been held about Black families. The result has been that great attention has been placed upon those that are most destitute. Little attention has been placed on stable families or on the roles that fathers play within these families, whether they are within or outside of the home (Staples, 1977; J. McAdoo, 1986). In fact the roles that Black men play have often been depreciated.

The other legacy of enslavement that has been sometimes overlooked is the issue of dependency that has prevailed within certain sectors of the communities of Blacks. This dependency has been found in the growing number of those who are lower class and who have little hope of rising above their present situations. Some refer to this group as "underclass", but I prefer to use the standard class structure. We have always had persons, those of color and of non-color, who have been in the untenable position in which those of the "underclass" now find themselves. The difference now is in the growing numbers of those who have become caught up in, and who have no hope of, removing themselves from their lower, dejected status. Simply re-labeling them does not aid in the examination of the roles of women, especially Black women, within these situations.

Those trapped in the lower class will require the efforts of the private and the public sector. It is impossible for the

private sector alone to care for these persons, for their needs are beyond the efforts of soup-kitchens, clothing banks and church self help programs. Their misery requires the strong fusion of federal and state government aid, especially related to the large items of housing, child care, and job training. At the same time, efforts of the private economy and community will be needed in order to fend off the lower self esteem, the ambivalent racial attitudes, and the lower expectations of those in this status.

The dependency on the one hand, and the residuals of institutional and personal racism on the other, have provided a dilemma that has increasingly clouded the images that interfere with an accurate assessment of the roles of Black women.

Myths Related to the Role of Black Women

There has been little reality to the stereotypes and myths that have been perpetuated. One oft repeated myth is that Black families, even when a husband is present but especially when he was absent, are being run by a dominating woman or "matriarchy". The reality is that the arrangements within Black families have traditionally been ones in which power relationships have been shared. Again this is similar to West African heritages and an off-shoot of enslavement, where everyone was forced to have tasks and responsibilities. Poverty and social conditions did not allow the Black woman to have a period of simple domesticity as in some other groups.

They have always been forced to combine the tasks of the home and family with the tasks of outside employment.

The codification of these myths that have been held about Black families was brought into discussions of family policy and offered as causes of the situations of Black families (Moynihan, 1965). According to this formulation, family deterioration, both economical and structural, was the result of "matriarchy" and its "tangle of pathology". The policy recommendation was that the government should enter a period of "benign neglect" and not put emphasis on programs that might be supportive to Black families. Following a period of federal infusion of funds into many programs of help, this period of neglect had overall negative effects on the lives of women.

Myths continue to this day to be passed on and eventually are codified as "truth" in discussion of family policy. Harrison (1987) states that many of the myths are anti-female and have a negative impact on the family. Women's social roles are seen as detrimental and as leading to the further oppression of Black women and families.

Coupled with the myths are the methodological bias in which cultural bias is compounded with race and sex in analyses (McAdoo, 1986). The result has been that all Blacks are simply lumped into one group while non-black women continue to be presented as being members of diverse economic groupings. It seems increasingly more difficult for researchers to be able to see Black women as diverse economic groups with different values and lifestyles. This is evident in the lack of

information available aboit economic diversity among Black families. As an example, I have tried to get those within Census to provide me with a table, for this and other papers, that would factor out the marital structural arrangements of their data by race, for men and for women with children in the home under age 18 years, by education and by income. This would test the hypothesis that income (or education) is a contributor to the structural arrangements, in different amounts, by race. It is impossible to get this information. The Census Bureau has not analyzed the data in a way that would allow them to be able to provide this table; an analysis that appears simple to the outside practitioner.

Interest in Black families and Black women has ebbed and waned over the past. We are now within a period in which great attention is being paid to these families, and consequently where many myths are being perpetuated once again. While we will not, I hope, be putting emphasis on these myths within this conference, I feel that it is still necessary to highlight these stereotypes. They still exist and are still perpetuated in college classes, in shared beliefs, in the current media, and in the social science literature. It is necessary to review this history, when family structure and the impact on the Black woman is discussed, in order that the same mistakes are not repeated.

The Changes in Status of Black Women

There have been many modifications occurring in all families in the United States, changes for both Blacks and Whites, often in the same direction. Many of the trends that are occurring for all families, occurred even earlier in Blacks. The only major trend that has been different has been that there has been a decrease in the proportion of babies that are born out of wedlock to Black women, while the number of babies born to white women out of wedlock has gone up (Edelman, 1987).

Many changes that have occurred have meant that white families are becoming more like African-American families. Examples of these patterns are the employment outside of the home of women with young children, shared responsibilities in parenting, and decision-making regarding children, and the presence of a power relationship that is egalitarian (McAdoo, 1978).

Some racial patterns have converged for all racial groups. Certain rates are similar: child bearing expectations, and childlessness rates have become similar, and late departure from, or return to, the parental home by youth. However, while some trends are similar, the family compositions of racial groups differ: Blacks have more families with young children; more Black children have a single parent; and there is a lower survival rate of marriage unions after the children leave the home (U.S. Census; Glick, 1988).

The Sex Ratio: There were 13,976 Black women and 12,685 Black men in the United States in 1980, representing 12.0% and 11.4% respectively of the total population (U.S. Census, 1983: Table 38).

The sex-ratio that is projected for 1986 for Blacks aged 25 to 44 years is 90 men per 100 women. For those who are 45 to 64 years of age, the average falls to 88% (U.S. Census, 1984: Table 6).

Marital Statuses: Blacks tend to marry much later than others. Most formerly were married in the early twenties. A shift in the time of marriage has occurred in the past few years. In 1984, of those between the ages of 20 to 24 years, only 20% of Blacks were married, while nearly double the number of whites (40%) were married. There are indications that the long length of time before the first marriage and before the second marriage, upon divorce, is the direct result of the number of young men who are finding it more difficult to find jobs (Edelman, 1987; Wilson, 1987).

Marriage is indeed a preferred status for most Blacks, for most men and women are married at least once. The majority of both males and females have been married. Seventy-one point seven percent of the women and 63.8% of the men were married at one point in their life (See Table 1). One out of every three Blacks, compared to one out of every two persons of all races, are living in this type of home (Glick, 1988).

When the presently married were examined, in 1985 one-third of both gender groups were married with the spouse present: 31.2% of women and 38.9% of the men (See Fig. 1). That is lower than the 50% who were married for white and Hispanic families.* Of the family types that are available, 53.2% are now slated to be married couples (Table 2). Of this group, 64.1% of the women are in the labor force and 35.9% are not in the paid labor force.

Disrupted Marriages: When one looks at the trends, it is obvious that family structural arrangements have been changing among all American ethnic and racial groups. The trend has been from a predominantly two parent family structure to patterns of diverse family structures. This trend has resulted from changes in societal attitudes and economic opportunities, or lack thereof, and changes in patterns of child bearing. Some of these demographic changes have been accelerated in African-American families due to economic pressures, welfare policies, and imbalances in sex-ratios.

Blacks did find it difficult to stay together in the marital state. Those who had been married and were no longer together represented 32% of the population for women and 17.7% for men (See Fig. 2). The number of husbands who had died were twice as high as the number of wives. Death of the spouse had terminated marriage for 13.3% of the women and 7.0% of the men.

*This rate is for those who are 15 years and older, if an older group is used, the statistics are higher.

The remaining persons who were married and no longer together composed 18.7% of the women: married but separated, 8.5%; divorced, 10.2%. The men were lower, 14.7% of them were no longer together with their spouse: married but separated, 7.2%; divorced 7.0%. Marriages that do not work often end in separated status and this is tantamount to a common-law "divorce" for those who are poor.

For those who were over 15 years old on March, 1985, more men than women had remained single. Only 36.9% of the women and 43.4% men had never been married. More women, over age 15, are single (36.9%) than are now married, with spouse present (31.2%). For Black men, more were now married (46.1%) than single (43.3%).

When family type was compared, there was a decline and leveling off in the number of couples who were married and remain together. In 1970 there were 68% who were married, in 1980 there were 53.7%, and by 1985 this had been maintained at 53.2% (Table 2).

Black Marriage Modifications: Black women are married for fewer years than are their white counterparts. One in two marriages now end in divorce. All women, regardless of their race, spend less time in their first marriage than they did before. Black women spend only 16 of their expected 73 years with a husband. In contrast, white women spend 33 years married of their expected 77 year life span.

The rate of separation and divorce is twice as high for Blacks (Thornton, 1978). When the marriage is broken, the time that it takes to finalize the separation with an actual divorce is lengthy. Only five out of ten Black couples manage to get their divorce within five years. Whites on the other hand have nine out of ten couples divorced by that time (Thornton, 1977: Tables 1, 3, 4). Remarried women all groups have higher divorce rates than other groups.

The divorce rate of Blacks is twice as high as for any other group. In 1984 the divorce rate had increased to 320 per 1,000 for Black women (See Fig. 3). Their rate was twice as high as that found for Black males, 160 per 1,000. White females (120) and males (98) had much lower rates. Men remarry; women don't and remain single. The resulting pressures of their situations results in more divorces and hinder Black women's remarriages, while Black men are able to remarry with ease. The 90:100 sex ratio is an element, but other issues loom as large.

Black women are spending more time between their first and second marriages (Espenshade, 1985). It takes Blacks an average of 11 years between the final separation and the final divorce, while white couples spend only two years in this limbo status (Espenshade, 1985: Table 6). Black women tend not to remarry when they do get divorced. The probability that they will marry again has declined since the early 1960s. Remarriage rates have at the same time increased for white

women. Black women tend to remain single after their marriage ends.

The largest rate of change has been in single parenting trends. Between 1970-1985 the number of all women who have been previously married and are now parenting alone has increased from 8% to 15%. The greatest increase has been in single mothers in all groups who have never been married: from 1% to 6% (Glick, 1988).

Living Arrangements of Black Children: The changes that are found in the marital relations of the adults will have a definite impact on the children. The overall result of these changes is that, in March, 1985, more children under 18 years of age are living a significant proportion of their lives in families in which the mother was the only parent (See Fig. 4). The percentage of these young children with only a mother has increased for all racial groups: from 9% in 1970 to 21% in 1985 (Glick, 1988).

Forty-three and six tenths (44%) percent of all children were living with both parents, while 53% were living with only their mother, and 3% were with their fathers only.

Poorly educated Black women have more children, yet the well educated have fewer children than their non-black counterparts. The lowest fertility is found in college educated Black women. The proportion of children who are poor and who live with only their mothers has drastically increased during the past 26 years. In 1959 there were 29.4% of the

children who were poor, but by 1985 this number had increased to 78.4%. the number of poor children increased 2.5 times in this period (U.S. Census, 1986: Table 16).

Median Income and Poverty: There also were diverse economic groupings of African-American families. The median Black family income in 1985 was $24,570 for a married couple. Median family income depended on whether the woman in the marriage worked or not: $30,502, if she was in the labor market and $15,129, if she was not. In contrast, whites had a median income of $25,307 if the wife did not work and $36,992, if the woman worked.

In other words, the white male income was sufficiently high that the wife's median contribution was only $11,000, while the Black wife's median contribution was $15,400. The important issue to remember is that the Black male median income is so low that it contributes to the instability of Black family life.

The poverty rate by family type found that only 12.2% of married families were in poverty in 1985. This rate jumped to 22.9% for male householders and a phenomenal 50.5% for female householders with no male present (U.S. Census, 1986). The poverty rate has steadily increased for Blacks over the past twenty-five years, particularly those who were in female headed households.

Children Born to Unwed Mothers: One common misconception about African-American single families is the belief that white

mothers are single as the result of divorce, while African-American mothers are single because of adolescent pregnancy out of wedlock. The Census data do not support this contention. Half of all Black single mothers in 1985 had been married before and half had never been married (Glick, 1987).

The proportion of Black single mothers who were married before becoming single mothers has decreased between 1970 and 1985. In 1970, 80% of Black single mothers had been married before but by 1985, only 50% had been previously married. During the same time, the proportion of never married mothers who are parenting alone increased significantly. It had increased from 6% in 1970 to 25% in 1985 (Glick, 1988).

Nevertheless, adolescent pregnancy is not the greatest source of single Black motherhood. According to Children's Defense Fund data (1984), adolescent mothers have only 40% of all Black babies who are born out of wedlock, 60% are born to women over the age of 20. The general air of permissiveness and general attitudinal changes that have occurred over the past two decades have contributed to the overall increases in women who are parenting alone for Blacks and Whites. There has been a general lessening of the negative attitudes towards nonmarital sexuality and single parenting. However, babies born to adolescents are among the most vulnerable of all babies in our society.

Economic Status of Males

The causes and results of these trends are several, including welfare policies that have forced intact families to separate when the fathers could not support their families, and the fact that, when dependency continues over generations, role models of intact families and delayed child-bearing are not available for youth.

Within African-American families, the patterns of one-parent and two-parent families are directly related to the economic status of males (Edelman, 1987; Wilson, 1987). High income Black males, with high educational attainment, have family intact rates that are identical to non-blacks at the ages of 45 to 54 years (Glick, 1988).

The high separation and divorce rates among Black families are the direct result of financial instability related to the increasingly precarious economic situation of Black males--their unemployment and employment in jobs with limited futures. The patterns of new jobs being increasingly created only in minimum-wage levels, and the elimination of high paying industrial jobs that require little formal education, have all contributed to this precariousness. The situations of Black males prevent marriages from forming when pregnancies occur outside of marriage and cause stresses that contribute to the dissolution of existing marriages.

There have been gains in real earnings made by African-American males. Despite this, Danziger and Gottschald (1987) have found from Census data that there has been an increase in

the inequality of African-American male earnings in relationship to non-Black males. There has been a concurrent increase in withdrawal from the labor force. The imbalance of males to females in the general population and the decline of Black male labor force participation means that there are fewer men who will be able to assume the role of provider within families.

Impact of Single Parent Status on Families: The fact that families have one parent is, in and of itself, not the problem of concern. African-American families have been found to be able to successfully socialize their children and meet all of their developmental needs in a variety of family structures. Parent-child relationships and bonding processes have been successful in all forms of families.

The major problem arising from female-headed families is poverty. The impoverishment of Black families has been more detrimental than the actual structural arrangement. One must not forget that the majority of Black single mothers are employed and are attempting to maintain their self sufficiency. While some are successful, too many, even when they are regularly employed outside of the home, are unable to earn enough to raise themselves and their children above the poverty level.

The term "feminization of poverty" has been used to describe the financial slide that happens to women when divorce occurs in a middle class family or working class family and the

financial support of their spouse is removed (Pearce and McAdoo, 1981). The financial pattern is different for Black mothers, who often were poor before, during, and after their marriages. Divorce only makes their situations worse.

The Demographic Changes and Stress in Women: Stress is a major problem of single mothers. Their limited economic resources have made them the most vulnerable of all family groups. My own research (McAdoo, 1983) has found their stress levels were significantly higher than women who are married with spousal support. All of the single mothers were under high levels of stress; in finances, and in the areas of their lives related to work, housing, and meeting the basic needs of their families.

Stress was highest for women with more children who had several younger children, who had medical problems, and who were isolated from their relatives. Similar patterns were found in both working and middle class families.

Single mothers have been forced to draw extensively upon the African-American institutional support networks provided historically by Black churches, social and fraternal organizations, and the formation of fictive-family arrangements. These traditional strategies have been found in all economic levels. Studies have found these patterns in three-generation middle class two parent families and in the most destitute units. The greatest involvement in and dependence upon family help exchange networks has been found in

families with limited financial resources, with younger children, and when spouses are absent from families.

The social supports provided by members of their extended family networks have been able to supplement the resources that are absent when a marriage dissolves or an expectant couple remains single.

One of my studies (1983, 1986) included 318 single mothers who had full custody of their children under the age of 18 years. They were attempting to maintain their economic self-sufficiency through their own employment. Half of them had been previously married and half had never been married. They were in their mid-30s and had an average of two children each.

Mothers who were in extended family environments had significantly lower levels of stress than those who lived alone with their children. Women who had higher self esteem and lower stress were more satisfied with their family situations. They felt that it was easy to visit back and forth with their kin. They felt good about the fact they gave to, and received from, other family members. They felt a sense of control over their lives.

It appeared that the extended family networks were crucial in maintaining the families. This was particularly true during the traumatic transitional points of separations and divorces, when jobs were lost, and when children were born out of wedlock.

There was one surprising finding of the study. The women who had been married previously were compared with those who

had never been married. We had predicted that the women who had given birth outside of marriage would differ in several negative ways from those who had followed the more traditional route of giving birth within marriage.

The expected differences were not found. There were few significant differences between the two groups of women. They were basically alike on all of the mental health scores, stress scales, family interaction patterns and feelings of control over their environment. The differences that were found favored the never married women. They had significantly higher levels of educational attainment, occupational status, and therefore higher incomes.

Many of the adolescent mothers were cared for within extended families and they received help with their child rearing that allowed them to complete high school or training in a trade. They were therefore given the help that allowed them to obtain higher education and job advancement. These women were forced to work to support their children. With their extended family help they were able to enter more easily into the labor market.

Other young women who married and then had children were often more isolated. They were often forced to end their own education or employment when they became pregnant. These previously married women appeared to have more irregular employment histories. They also had to face the trauma of unhappy marital relationships and the dissolution of their marriages. Therefore, marital status at birth of the first

child may not be as important as the networks of family support that are provided at this crucial point of the single mothers' lives.

In a one year telephone follow-up of these women, we were saddened to find that they were no longer as self-sufficient as they were when we interviewed them. One third of them had lost their jobs and many of them had been forced to go on welfare. These were women who had been totally self sufficient just one year previously. The changes in their life situations were the direct result of the changes in governmental policies that had occurred in the early 1980s. Some who were in training programs had been dismissed, others had been laid off because of cut-backs in social service and teaching positions. Both middle class college educated and working class women had felt the impact. Other mothers had jobs but had to quit them because of the elimination of day care programs. Some of the day care programs had been partially staffed with persons who were in job training programs and others were eliminated when the state reduced their subsidies of these programs. These responses clearly indicated the vulnerability of single mothers. It also highlights the tremendous and immediate impact that governmental policy changes can have on the lives of families.

Implications for the Future

The overall implications of these demographic trends and research findings has been to expect that the situation will become increasingly worse for African-American families.

There will be a slowing of changes. Predictions have been made that the model Black family form will be one parent in structure, composed of dependent mothers and their children. Yet trends would tend to indicate that the patterns will remain similar to present patterns rather than to continue to disintegrate. The pendulum will, hopefully, slow and then reverse its swing. The Census data on fertility expectations, the decline in the past two years in Black adolescent pregnancy (while the non-black rate has continued to increase), the increased fears of sexually transmitted diseases that have caused changes in adult sexual behavior, and the aging of the population may lead to greater stability. The unknown element in the future will be the economic and employment status of adults, particularly the men.

There is an increased awareness of the society's interdependence on a stable working population. We know that the workers in the beginning of the next century will be composed increasingly of women and minorities. This awareness may lead to the formation of non-punitive policies (McAdoo & Parham, 1985). Policies are needed that will increase the preparation of youth for the existing and future labor markets; provide adequate preventative health care; allow more control of the fertility of young adults; and provide quality child care and education of children from the early years. It will be to all of our benefit that policies should be supportive of the continuation of effective social support networks for African-American families and other groups of color.

REFERENCES

Dix, Sarah (Ed.). 1987. The American Woman 1987-88, A Report in Depth. New York: Norton & Co.

DuBois, W.E.B. 1903. Souls of Black Folk. Chicago: McClurg.

Edelman, Marian Wright. 1987. Families in Peril, An Agenda for Social Change. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Espenshade, T.J. 1985. Marriage Trends in America: Estimates, Implications and Causes. Reproduction & Development Review. 11, pp. 193-245, Table 6.

Franklin, John Hope. 1988. A Historic Note on Black Families. In Black Families. McAdoo, H. (Ed.) Newsbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Frazier, E. Franklin. 1939. The Negro Family in the United States. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Glick, Paul. 1988. A Demographic Picture of Black Families. In Black Families. Harriett McAdoo (Ed.). Newsbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Gutman, Herbert. 1976. The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom: 1750-1925. New York: Random House.

Harrison, Algea. 1987. Images of Black Women. The American Woman 1987-88, A Report in Depth. New York: Norton & Co.

Herskovitz, M.J. 1958. The Myth of the Negro Past. Boston: Beacon. (Originally published, 1941.)

McAdoo, Harriette. 1978. Factors Related to Stability in Upwardly Mobile Black Families. Journal of Marriage and the Family. 40(4), pp. 761-76.

McAdoo, Harriette. 1982. Stress Absorbing Systems in Black Families. Family Relations. 31(4). pp. 479-488.

McAdoo, Harriette. 1986. Strategies Used by Black Single Mothers Against Stress. In Slipping Through the Cracks, The Status of Black Women. Margaret Simms and Julianne Malveaux (Ed.). New Brunswick: Transaction Books, pp. 153-166.

McAdoo, John. 1986. Black Father's Relationship with their Preschool Children and the Children's Development of Ethnic Identity. In Men in Families. Robert Lewis and Robert Salt (Ed.). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

Moynihan, Daniel. 1965. The Negro Family, The Case for National Action. Washington, D.C.: Office of Policy Planning and Research, U.S. Department of Labor.

Pearce, Diana and Harriette McAdoo. 1981. Women and Children: Alone and in Poverty. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Printing Office. National Advisory Council on Economic Opportunity.

Pipes, William. 1951. Say Amen, Brother! New York: William-Frederick Press. A condensed version appears in Black Families. McAdoo, H. (Ed.) 1988. Newsbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Staples, Robert. 1986. The Black Family, Essays and Studies. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Co.

Sudarkasa, Niara. 1988. Interpreting the African Heritage in Afro-American Family Organization. In Black Families. McAdoo, H. (Ed.). Newsbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Thornton, A. and Freedman, D. 1983. The Changing American Family. Population. Population Bulletin, 38.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1983. Census of the Population, Vol. 1, PC80-1-B1, Table 38.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1984. Current Population Reports, Series P-25, No. 952, Table 6 (middle series).

U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1983. Census of the Population, Vol. 1, PC80-1-B1, Table 38.

U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1984. Current Population Reports, Series P-25, No. 952, Table 6 (middle series).

U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Unpublished data for 1985. Cited in The American Woman 1987-88, A Report in Depth. New York: Norton & Co.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1986. Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 154, Table 15; Table 16.

Wilson, William. 1987. The Truly Disadvantaged. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Table 1

Living Arrangement of Noninstitutionalized Children Under 18 Years Old by Race

Living Arrangements	All Races		African-Americans	
	1985	1970	1985	1970
Living with:				
Two parents	74	85	39	58
One parent	23	12	54	33
	97%	97%	93%	91%
Other relatives	3	2	6	7
Nonrelatives	1	1	1	2
	101%	100%	100%	100%
Single parents:				
Fathers alone	3	1	3	3
Mothers alone	21	9	49	30
Mothers, alone				
Ever married:	15%	8%	24%	24%
Divorced	8	3	11	5
Married, sep.	5	3	11	15
Widowed	2	2	2	4
Never married:	6	1	25	6
	21%	9%	49%	30%
Number (in thousands)	62,475	69,162	9,479	9,406

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1986b, 1973.

Prepared by Paul Glick. 1988. A Demographic Picture of Black Families. In Black Families, 2nd Edition. Edited by Harriette McAdoo. Newsbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

28

Table 2. FAMILY TYPE BY RACE AND SPANISH ORIGIN, 1970, 1980, 1984, AND 1985 *(in percentages)*

Family type	*1970*	*1980*	*1984*	*1985*
ALL RACES				
Married-couple families	86.7	81.7	80.3	80.1
Wife in paid labor force	NA	(50.2)	(53.5)	(54.0)
Wife not in paid labor force	NA	(49.8)	(46.5)	(46.0)
Female householder, no husband present	10.9	15.1	16.2	16.1
Male householder, no wife present	2.4	3.2	3.6	3.8
Total percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number of families (in thousands)	51,237	60,309	62,706	63,558
WHITE				
Married-couple families	88.6	85.1	83.9	83.5
Wife in paid labor force	NA	(49.3)	(52.5)	(52.9)
Wife not in paid labor force	NA	(50.6)	(47.5)	(47.1)
Female householder, no husband present	9.1	11.9	12.8	12.9
Male householder, no wife present	2.2	3.0	3.3	3.6
Total percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number of families (in thousands)	46,022	52,710	54,400	54,991
BLACK				
Married-couple families	68.0	53.7	51.2	53.2
Wife in paid labor force	NA	(59.6)	(64.0)	(64.1)
Wife not in paid labor force	NA	(40.4)	(36.0)	(35.9)
Female householder, no husband present	28.2	41.7	43.7	41.5
Male householder, no wife present	3.7	4.6	5.1	5.3
Total percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number of families (in thousands)	4,774	6,317	6,778	6,921
SPANISH ORIGIN[1]				
Married-couple families	NA	73.1	71.7	70.4
Wife in paid labor force	NA	(46.2)	(49.1)	(49.1)
Wife not in paid labor force	NA	(53.8)	(50.9)	(50.9)
Female householder, no husband present	NA	21.8	23.0	23.3
Male householder, no wife present	NA	5.1	5.3	6.3
Total percent		100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number of families (in thousands)	NA	3,235	3,939	4,206

[1]Persons of Spanish origin may be of any race.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 218, 1971, Table 6; Series P-60, No. 127, 1981. Table 1; Series P-60, No. 149, 1985, Table 1; Series P-60, No. 154, 1986, Table 1.

Table 3

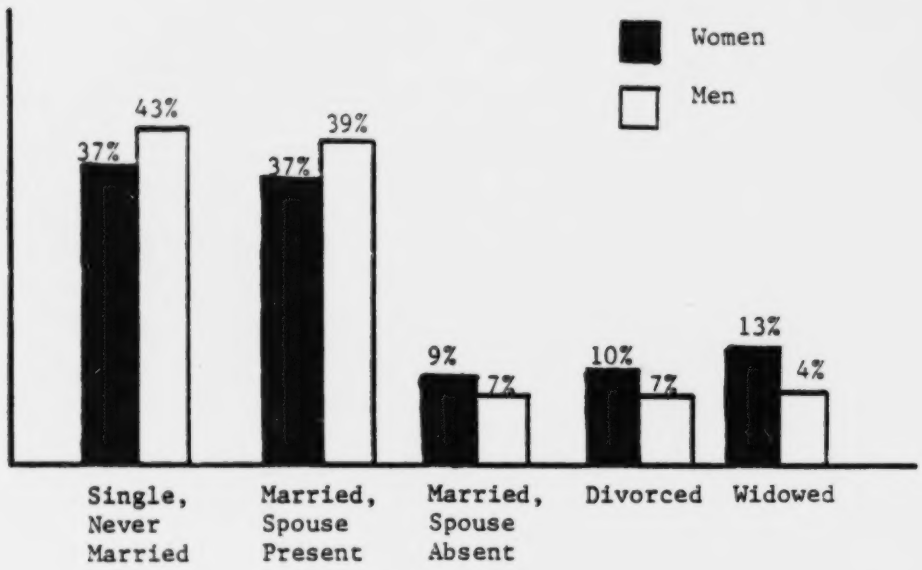
MEDIAN INCOME OF FAMILIES BY FAMILY TYPE, RACE, AND SPANISH ORIGIN, 1985 (in dollars)

	All Races	Black	White	Spanish origin[1]
Married couple	31,100	24,570	31,602	22,269
Wife in paid labor force	36,431	30,502	36,992	28,132
Wife not in paid labor force	24,556	15,129	25,307	17,116
Male householder, no wife present	22,622	16,416	24,109	19,773
Female householder, no husband present	13,660	9,305	15,825	8,792

[1]Persons of Spanish origin may be of any race.

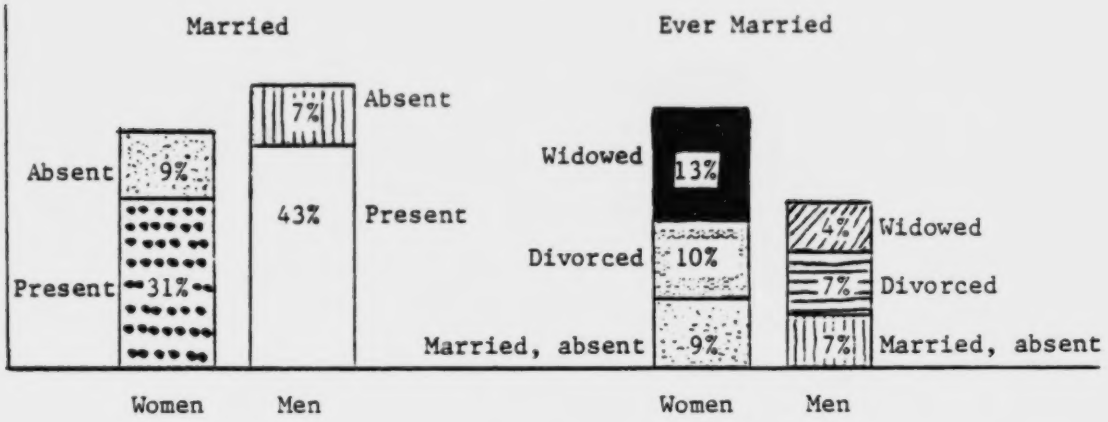
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 154, 1986, Table 1.

Figure 1 Marital Status of Blacks Age 15 and Over, March 1985



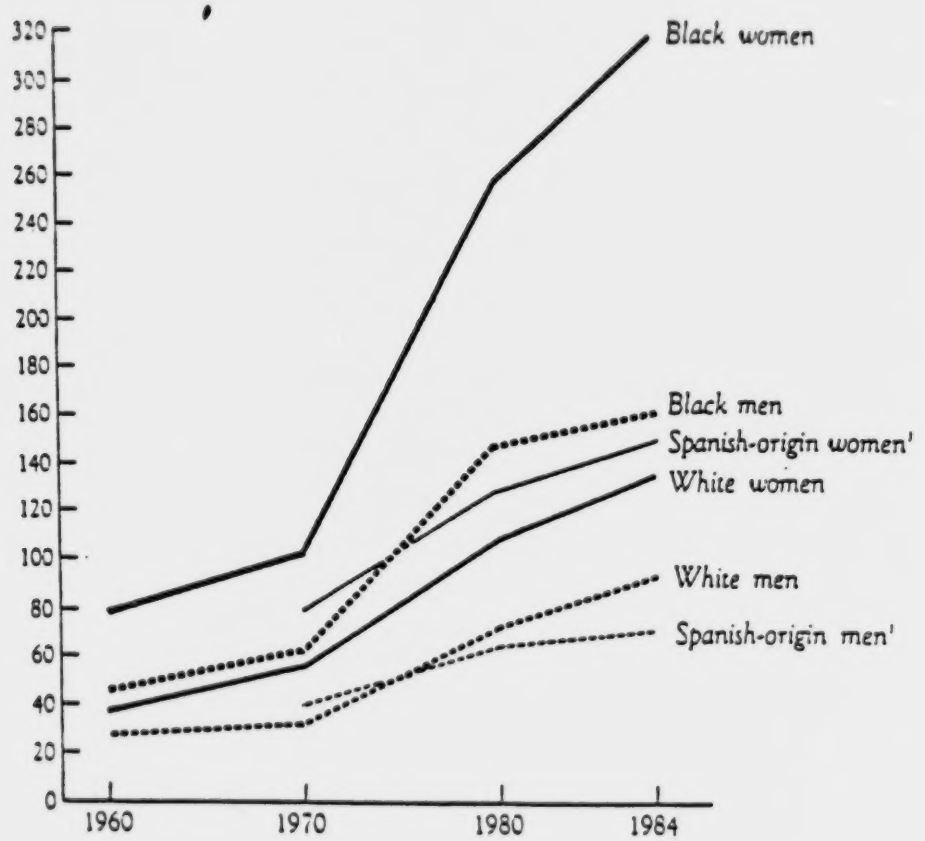
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports Unpublished data for 1985. In The American Woman, 1987-88, A Report in Depth, Table 5.

Figure 2 Marital Status of Black Women and Men
Married and Ever Married (Spouse Absent) March, 1985



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports. Unpublished data for 1985. In The American Woman, 1987-88, A Report in Depth, Table 5.

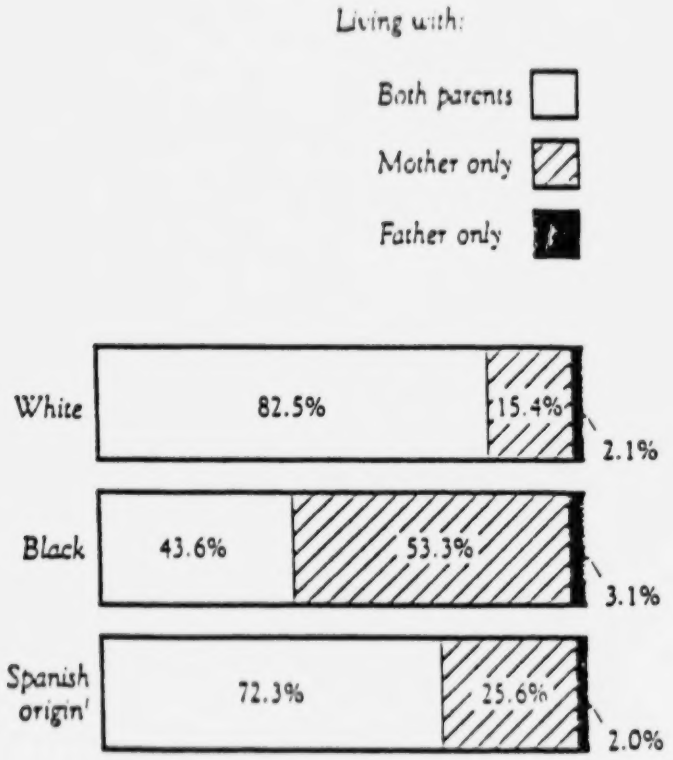
Figure 3 DIVORCED PERSONS PER 1,000 MARRIED PERSONS WITH SPOUSE PRESENT, BY SEX, RACE, AND SPANISH ORIGIN, 1960, 1970, 1980, AND 1984



[1]Persons of Spanish origin may be of any race.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 399, 1985, Table C.

Figure 4 LIVING ARRANGEMENTS OF CHILDREN UNDER AGE 18 BY MARITAL STATUS OF PARENTS, RACE, AND SPANISH ORIGIN, MARCH 1984



[1]Persons of Spanish origin may be of any race.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 399, 1985, Table 9.